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THESIS

NAVY RECRUIT TRAINING
AS A GENDERING PROCESS

by

Lisa M. Truesdale

March, 1998

Thesis Advisor: George W. Thomas

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NAVY RECRUIT TRAINING AS A GENDERING PROCESS

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies Navy recruit training as a gendering process, and it examines female and male recruits' gendered experiences at Recruit Training Command (RTC) Great Lakes, Illinois. Gender is a prominent social construct for individuals and organizations. Both individuals and organizations are gendered and create gender. The phrase, "gendering process," refers to an organization's production of gender. The primary research question is: Can the military socialization experience of Navy recruit training be understood as a gendering process, specifically as a process for producing masculinity? A psychometric inventory of gender role attributes, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), was used to measure the difference in starting and ending recruits' self assessment of femininity and masculinity. Results from the BSRI indicated that Navy recruit training is a gendering process for both female and male recruits. Structured interviews with RTC officer and enlisted personnel provided additional insight into the gendering nature of the military socialization experience of Navy recruit training. These results offer a powerful, analytical lens for viewing and assessing such personnel processes as attrition, retention, promotion, and occupational selection for women and men in the Navy. They also provide a useful framework for understanding the status of women and men in the Navy.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

Gender refers to the socially produced distinctions in appearance, attitudes, attributes, behaviors, roles, and sexuality that exist between humans. Femininity, masculinity, and the categories "woman" and "man" are products of gender. Most people experience the categories and their socially produced distinctions as natural and common sense. However, gender is not an innate characteristic of a person. For individuals, gender is an ongoing, daily activity as they decide to follow or challenge its rules and patterns of expectations associated with the categories "woman" and "man."

Gender is also produced and reinforced daily by organizations. The phrase, "gendering process," refers to an organization's production of gender. Contrary to traditional, gender-blind approaches to organizational analysis, a growing body of literature recognizes the overwhelming difference that gender makes to an organization's reality (Mills & Tancred, 1992). That is, a more authentic picture of an organization's operations, culture, and personnel emerges when gender is part of the analysis.

For example, traditional approaches to organizational theory fail to account for women's work experiences in organizations. These theories are typically "based on the fundamental premise that most workers in the public sphere are male—and it does not matter if they are not" (Mills & Tancred, 1992, p. 1). Gendered organizational analysis recognizes that it does matter if workers are female or male because organizations produce gendered rules and expectations associated with the categories "woman" and "man." A greater understanding of women's *and* men's workplace realities emerges only from a gendered organizational perspective.

B. PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to study Navy recruit training as a gendering process and to examine female and male recruits' gendered experiences in the organization. The primary research question is the following: Can the military socialization experience of Navy recruit training be understood as a gendering process, specifically as a process for producing masculinity?

C. METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study hypothesized that Navy recruit training is a gendering process socializing women and men to increase

their valuing of attributes that are traditionally identified as masculine. A psychometric inventory of gender role attributes, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), was used to measure female and male recruits' self assessment of femininity and masculinity. The sample consisted of 542 Navy recruits. Metrics based on the BSRI were then used to test the hypothesis that Navy recruit training is a gendering process.

In addition to the BSRI, structured interviews with Recruit Training Command Great Lakes, Illinois officers, recruit trainers ("drill instructors"), female recruits, and male recruits were conducted to gain an understanding of the military socialization experience. Purposes of the interviews were to discover if Navy recruit training is experienced as a gendering process and to provide more details than available from the BSRI. The sample consisted of 7 officers, 21 recruit trainers, 19 female recruits, and 22 male recruits.

D. BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

The results of this study can provide the Navy with a useful framework for understanding the adjustment processes of women and men to Navy socialization. A gendered analysis of Navy recruit training can result in a more authentic

picture of the organization's operations, culture, and personnel. This analysis can have significant implications for assessing the status of women and men in the Navy.

E. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The following chapters study Navy recruit training from a gendered perspective. Chapter II highlights relevant aspects of Navy recruit training. The intent is to provide the reader with a working knowledge of Navy "boot camp." Chapter III presents an extensive literature review focusing on the processes by which individuals and organizations become gendered and in turn, create gender. Chapter IV discusses the methodology used in the study. In Chapter V, results of the BSRI and interview themes are presented along with supporting excerpts from the interviews. Chapter VI discusses the conclusions of the study, recommendations, and potential areas for further research.

II. NAVY RECRUIT TRAINING

A. OVERVIEW

Recruit Training Command (RTC) Great Lakes, Illinois became the sole Navy "boot camp" in 1994 following the closures of training facilities in San Diego and Orlando. The Navy currently trains all of its recruits at RTC Great Lakes, and the command is one of several Navy training commands ultimately reporting to the Chief of Naval Education and Training (CNET) in Pensacola, Florida.

This chapter highlights relevant aspects of RTC Great Lakes beginning with a description of its mission, vision, and guiding principles. The next section reviews the history of Navy gender-integrated recruit training followed by a discussion of inprocessing procedures for incoming recruits. The chapter concludes with a description of RTC's organizational structure and specifics of the recruit training curriculum.

B. MISSION, VISION, AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The mission of RTC Great Lakes is to "transform recruit trainees into enlisted apprentice Sailors in support of fleet requirements" (RTC, 1998). The training process to accomplish this mission lasts approximately 9 to 10 weeks.

After successful completion of screening, outfitting, education, and attitudinal development requirements in boot camp, graduates of recruit training are ready for follow-on instruction in the fleet.

In fiscal year (FY) 1997, RTC Great Lakes transformed 37,903 civilians—5,224 women and 32,679 men—into Navy sailors. Women represented 14% of graduating recruits in FY 1997 and are expected to represent 17% of enlisted accessions for FY 1998 (E. A. O'Dowd, personal communication, January 22, 1998).

RTC Great Lakes describes its vision in the following manner:

> We develop our nation's volunteers into Sailors instilled with Navy core values, warrior ethos and impeccable military bearing. They graduate fully capable and eager to meet the challenges of the 21st century Navy. We succeed through optimizing the diverse talents of our staff, utilizing state-of-the-art facilities and enhancing the effectiveness of the training process. Only the Navy's finest are entrusted with this awesome responsibility. (RTC, 1998)

Five guiding principles direct the training activities at RTC Great Lakes. The first principle focuses on leadership of the recruits. RTC Great Lakes is "committed to leadership anchored in the core values of honor, courage and commitment; respect for human dignity and worth; and modeling expected behavior" (RTC, 1998). The second

principle articulates the command's commitment to a "systems approach" and "quality principles and tools" in order to achieve its mission. For example, recruits complete critiques at two points in the training program to facilitate continuous process improvement.

Empowerment of personnel and a command climate of trust are the subjects of the third guiding principle. RTC Great Lakes strives to empower its personnel by creating a positive work environment through "the use of teamwork; open, honest communication; equal opportunity and valued diversity; professional development utilizing mentoring, training and appropriate recognition; and consideration and support of individual needs" (RTC, 1998). Staff personnel are encouraged to communicate their ideas through the chain of command, and they are expected to impact positively the quality of each recruit. Recruits receive instruction in their rights and responsibilities as members of the Navy, and they complete surveys about RTC's climate that are reviewed by the chain of command.

The remaining guiding principles focus on the development of recruits' pride in the Navy and in their service to country. RTC Great Lakes emphasizes mission accomplishment and naval traditions to promote pride in naval service. National pride is encouraged "by fostering

patriotism, warrior ethos, respect for other services, and commitment to military pride" (RTC, 1998).

C. HISTORY OF GENDER-INTEGRATED RECRUIT TRAINING

Initiatives to integrate enlisted recruit training occurred in the 1990s, long after many Navy training programs had integrated women and men. As a result of the 1991 Navy Women's Study Group report and its finding that "the non-acceptance of women begins at the training centers" (p. III-21), the Secretary of the Navy tasked CNET to examine gender-integrated recruit training.

1. 1992 Pilot Program

In February 1992, RTC Orlando hosted a pilot program in which recruits were randomly assigned to gender-integrated or gender-segregated training groups, commonly referred to as "companies." Twenty-one companies took part in the pilot program with 9 gender-integrated companies, 2 female segregated companies, and 10 male segregated companies. In total, 884 recruits were trained in gender-integrated companies while 1,027 recruits participated in gender-segregated companies. The composition of gender-integrated companies ranged from 20 to 50% female. Of the 1,911 recruits in the pilot program, 483 were women and 1,428 were

men (K. M. Bruyere, personal communication, July 23, 1992; CNET, 1993).

2. Research

The Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) conducted a study of the pilot program during its operation. The DEOMI study surveyed 1,621 recruits to elicit their perceptions of teamwork, fraternization, and the impact of gender integration on training. Recruits were asked to rate up to 49 statements using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*totally disagree with the statement*) to 5 (*totally agree with the statement*). The survey instrument was administered during the first and seventh weeks of training. DEOMI supplemented the survey responses with structured interviews of 56 randomly selected recruits, focusing on their personal thoughts and feelings concerning the integration process. Administrative personnel at RTC Orlando also provided academic, physical, and training performance data to assist in the analysis (see Scarpate and O'Neill, 1992).

DEOMI researchers' reported analysis of the survey and interviews was incomplete. Although they computed means for various groups of survey respondents, such as females versus males and integrated versus segregated companies, they did not evaluate the statistical significance of differences

between group means or any other group attributes. Interview results were sketchy, consisting of five quotes from selected recruits.

3. Outcomes

Based on the surveys and interviews, DEOMI researchers concluded that gender integration had "neither a clear positive nor negative behavioral impact on training at RTC Orlando" (Scarpate and O'Neill, 1992, p. 5). They recommended that integration should continue and future studies should evaluate its effectiveness.

The pilot program received high praise throughout the Navy chain of command and in November 1992, the Chief of Naval Operations approved the permanent implementation of gender-integrated recruit training (CNET, 1993). From that point on, all-female recruit companies passed into naval history. However, all-male recruit companies continued to form.

D. INPROCESSING

The process of transforming civilian volunteers into Navy sailors typically begins at Chicago's O'Hare Airport where recruits board buses destined for RTC Great Lakes. Staff personnel meet them on the bus, and indoctrination starts with a discussion of expectations, Navy core values,

and roles of trainers and recruits. To ease stress and anxiety, recruits also watch a video on coping skills featuring sailors who have successfully completed boot camp.

After recruits arrive at RTC Great Lakes, they are permitted a three-minute phone call home before various administrative and medical inprocessing activities commence. RTC Great Lakes personnel commonly refer to these five to seven days of inprocessing as "P-days." Administrative inprocessing includes record verification and check-in, discretionary sign-up for the GI Bill, mandatory direct deposit enrollment for military pay, issuance of military identification card, and other administrative documentation relating to recruits' families. Medical inprocessing includes urinalysis within 24 hours of arrival, height/weight screening, physical and dental examinations, and the administration of a psychological questionnaire to determine recruits' adaptability to training and enlistment.

The symbolic transformation of civilian volunteer into recruit is also important during P-days. All female and male recruits receive their first haircuts; civilian clothes and possessions are boxed and shipped home in exchange for Navy uniforms and basic necessities. Finally, recruits undergo a "moment of truth" interview, giving them an opportunity to reveal previously undisclosed information.

The "moment of truth" serves several purposes. It allows the Navy to verify recruits' qualification for enlistment and their eligibility to begin recruit training. The exercise also reminds recruits that they are entering a new organization where different rules apply.

E. ORGANIZATION

For purposes of efficient inprocessing, recruits are assigned to single-sex groups or "divisions" usually numbering between 78 to 88 personnel upon arrival at boot camp. A maximum of 12 divisions combine to form a training "ship." At any specific time there are 14 training ships at RTC Great Lakes, and all are named after Navy warships currently in commission. Ships are further grouped into one of three operational units: Atlantic Fleet, Pacific Fleet, or the Afloat Training Group. These operational units report to a commissioned naval officer, the Director of Training, who in turn, reports to the Executive Officer and Commanding Officer of RTC Great Lakes.

1. Recruit Division Leadership

Each recruit division is led by three recruit division commanders (RDCs). RDCs are experienced sailors and chief petty officers who come from the fleet. Selection for RDC duty is a three-stage screening process involving the Bureau

of Naval Personnel, the prospective member's command, and RTC Great Lakes. All RDC students attend four weeks of instructor training at Naval Training Center Great Lakes and eight weeks of RDC instruction at RTC Great Lakes. The current ratio of male RDCs to female RDCs is approximately 8 to 1, with on-going efforts to attract more women for RDC duty (E. A. O'Dowd, personal communication, January 22, 1998).

In addition to RDC leadership, each recruit division has a recruit chain of command known as recruit staff. RDCs select recruits for various leadership positions in the division to foster their hands-on experience with leadership responsibilities and to assist with the administration of the division's daily activities.

2. Integration Procedures

Integration of female and male divisions occurs after inprocessing activities are complete. Half of a female division pairs with half of a male division to form an integrated unit. This unit is together for all phases of the training curriculum with the exception of scheduled times for sleep and personal hygiene. Recruits, who are in integrated divisions, essentially belong to two units: their integrated divisions and their single-sex divisions. All female recruits are assigned to integrated divisions,

but not all male recruits participate in integrated training. There are only enough women entering recruit training to facilitate about 9% male recruit participation in gender-integrated divisions. In FY 1997, 91 divisions of 580 recruit divisions formed were gender-integrated. The remaining 489 divisions were all-male (E. A. O'Dowd, personal communication, January 22, 1998).

F. TRAINING CURRICULUM

1. Content

All recruits receive a trainee guide detailing the academic requirements of the training curriculum. This guide divides the instructional training material into six units: Inprocessing, Military Orientation, Seamanship, Weapons, Military Shipboard, and Rights and Responsibilities (RTC, 1997). Appendix A lists the specific lessons in each of these units.

In addition to the academic material in recruit training, physical conditioning is part of the training curriculum. Recruits regularly exercise with their RDCs, and they complete a circuit of shipboard-related, physical obstacles and requirements known as the "Confidence Course" at two different times in the training process.

2. Attitudinal Development Model

The Attitudinal Development Model employed by RTC Great Lakes is depicted in Figure 1. All aspects of the training curriculum combine to promote recruits' pride in self, others or shipmates, the unit, Navy, and nation. As illustrated in the diagram, RTC Great Lakes attempts to infuse the Navy core values of honor, courage, and commitment throughout the entire recruit training process.

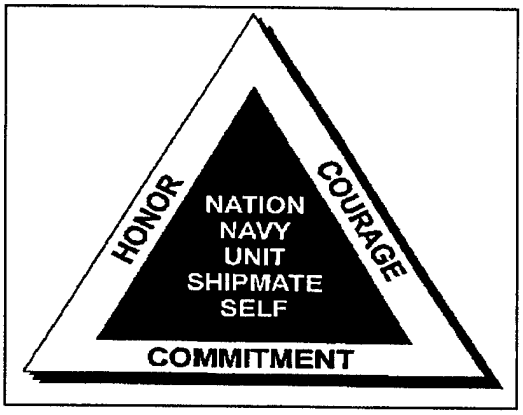

Figure 1. Attitudinal Development Model

3. Performance Measures

Recruits are tested throughout the training program as RDCs and other staff personnel continuously challenge them to learn and excel. Formal performance measures in recruit training consist of four academic tests, two physical fitness tests, four personal appearance and military bearing inspections, and three drill evaluations.

RTC Great Lakes has recently developed "Battle Stations," a final examination in the recruit training process. This performance measure is composed of 6 fleet-oriented scenarios based on naval heritage, with plans to expand to 12 events. Examples of current scenarios include the "Fire Fighting" event where recruits battle live fires, and the "Abandon Ship" event where recruits simulate "abandoning ship" at the RTC pool. Each scenario requires recruits to apply some of the technical and team-based skills that they have learned in recruit training. Bridging the gap between training and reality, "Battle Stations" is the culminating event in the recruit training process. All recruits must pass "Battle Stations" in order to graduate from Navy boot camp.

According to a RTC Great Lakes presentation on "Battle Stations," its purpose is to "galvanize the basic warrior attributes of sacrifice, dedication, teamwork, and endurance in each recruit through the practical application of basic Navy skills and core values learned during recruit training as the apex of the training program" (E. A. O'Dowd, personal communication, August 12, 1997). The manner in which these warrior attributes are gender-specific or may be viewed as gendering attributes will be discussed in the next chapter.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. OVERVIEW

This chapter focuses on the concept of gender as a social construct in American culture. For both individuals and organizations, the production of gender is an ongoing, daily activity. The primary focus of this chapter is an examination of the creation of gendered individuals and organizations with specific application to the U.S. Navy.

A purpose of this chapter is to explain the processes by which individuals and organizations become gendered and in turn, create gender. First, the distinction between sex and gender is made followed by an exploration of the definition of masculinities in American culture. Next, theories of gender identity development in individuals and a model of gender socialization are presented. Gendering processes in organizations are then explored followed by a discussion of the U.S. Navy's construction of hegemonic masculinity. The chapter concludes with an examination of Navy recruit training as a gendering process.

B. DISTINCTION BETWEEN SEX AND GENDER

The seemingly simplistic terms "sex" and "gender" are often used interchangeably, but drawing a distinction

between them is important. Sex is a biological construct used to categorize people as female or male based on their physiological characteristics. Gender is a cultural and social construct used to distinguish people as girls, boys, women, or men. Judith Lorber (1994) broadly defines gender as "a social structure that has its origins in the development of human culture, not in biology or procreation" (p. 1). In other words, biologically-based, physical features or procreative capabilities are not gender-based features or capabilities, nor do they cause gender. Gender is instead a human invention like language. It is a social organizing principle, defining "woman" and "man" through attitudes, behaviors, and roles that the culture labels as "feminine" or "masculine."

A key to understanding the terms sex and gender is to avoid conceptualizing them based on either-or categories. With respect to sex, femaleness or maleness is best understood in light of a continuum of reproductive structures, hormones, and physical characteristics (Doyle & Paludi, 1995). Linda L. Lindsey (1997) asserts that "it is reasonable to view gender, in particular, as a continuum of characteristics which an individual may demonstrate, regardless of biological sex" (p. 3). Her perspective and

others in the literature suggest that gender is learned and changing over time and across cultures.

Gender has many dimensions as a social institution and as an individual status; it is "not a unitary essence" (Lorber, 1994, p. 30). As a social institution, gender is composed of gender statuses, gendered division of labor, gendered kinship, gendered sexual scripts, gendered personalities, gendered social control, gender ideology, and gender imagery. For individuals, gender consists of sex category, gender identity, gendered marital and procreative status, gendered sexual orientation, gendered personality, gendered processes, gender beliefs, and gender display. In addition, gender may be viewed as a process, structure, and part of a stratification system (see Lorber, 1994).

1. Process

According to Lorber (1994), "gender creates the social differences that define 'woman' and 'man'" (p. 32). Through observation and reinforcement of appropriate behaviors for their gender status, individuals learn what is expected of them, thus constructing and maintaining the gender order. Gender is a dynamic process in which individuals produce it within acceptable limits set by their culture. This process leaves room for rebellion and resistance to gender norms,

suggesting that deconstruction of the prevailing gender order is possible at individual and organizational levels.

2. Structure

Following Lorber (1994), "as a structure, gender divides work in the home and in economic production, legitimates those in authority, and organizes sexuality and emotional life" (p. 34). In this light, gender may be a major component of structured inequality. Some genders have less value, power, and economic rewards than other genders. In American society, men hold key leadership positions in the upper levels of government, business, and the military while women are still responsible for the majority of household duties and child rearing, often and increasingly in addition to their full-time paid labor. This structured or gendered division of labor is usually taken-for-granted and mistakenly justified on the basis of procreative capabilities and physiological characteristics.

3. Part of a stratification system

Finally Lorber (1994) notes, "as part of a stratification system, gender ranks men above women of the same race and class" (p. 32). This evaluation of women and men depends on defining White men as the ideal standard. All women regardless of their race and all men of color are considered "the Others;" they are deviations from the

dominant, White male ideal. In American society, man is "A," woman is "Not-A;" White is "A," African-American and other races are "Not-A;" and middle class is "A," working-class is "Not-A." Exclusion from the dominant "A" categories implies inferiority, impurity, and deviance (see Lorber, 1994).

C. MASCULINITIES

Before exploring the definition of masculinities in American culture, three main ideas about masculinities are noteworthy. First, the literature emphasizes that masculinities cannot be studied in the singular, "as if the stuff of man were a homogeneous and unchanging thing" (Brod & Kaufman, 1994, p. 4). The "diversity of men's experiences, attitudes, beliefs, situations, practices, and institutions, along lines of race, class, sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, age, region, physical appearance, able-bodiedness, mental ability, and various other categories" (Brod & Kaufman, 1994, p. 4) point to the inadequacy of singular definitions of masculinity. Second, as R.W. Connell (1995) notes, the concept of masculinity in American culture is "inherently relational," and "does not exist except in contrast with 'femininity'" (p. 68). In this sense, masculinity and femininity are conceptualized as

opposite ends of a single dimension. Finally, Connell (1995) indicates that any discussion of masculinities constitutes "'doing gender' in a culturally specific way" (p. 68).

The definition of masculinities in American culture may be viewed from several perspectives. A positivist social science perspective "yields a simple definition of masculinity: what men actually are" (Connell, 1995, p. 69). Despite its simplicity, there are several difficulties with this definition because it is based on the gendered categories "men" and "women." The definition also does not allow for the characterization of some women as "masculine" and some men as "feminine." Connell (1995) asserts that "the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' point beyond categorical sex difference to the ways men differ among themselves, and women differ among themselves, in matters of gender" (p. 69).

Another way to define masculinities in American culture is from a normative standpoint. Like a positivist perspective, a normative standpoint considers masculinity in the singular, defining it as "what men ought to be" (Connell, 1995, p. 70). Robert Brannon's article (as cited in Lindsey, 1997) provides the following normative definitions of masculinity:

1. No Sissy Stuff: The stigma of all stereotyped feminine characteristics and qualities, including openness and vulnerability.

2. The Big Wheel: Success, status, and the need to be looked up to.

3. The Sturdy Oak: A manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance.

4. Give 'Em Hell: The aura of aggression, violence, and daring.

In addition to these themes of antifemininity, success, self-reliance, and aggression, Lindsey (1997) adds another normative definition of masculinity: "The Macho Man: An emphasis on sexual prowess, sexual conquests, and sexual aggression" (p. 225).

Similar to positivist explanations, normative definitions of masculinity also have deficiencies. Most notably, Connell (1995) contends that few men match a blueprint of manhood, and he questions the universality of normative definitions of masculinity. Connell (1995) proposes an alternative definition of masculinities that avoids the inadequacies of positivist and normative definitions and allows for the diversity of men's experiences. He contends that all masculinities arise in a system of gender relations. A knowledge of "the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives" (Connell, 1995, p. 71) is necessary to

understand masculinities. His definition of masculinities is the following: "a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (Connell, 1995, p. 71).

Connell's (1987) theory of gender as a structure of social practice clarifies this definition of masculinities. He views gender as both social practice and structure:

> Gender is social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, it is not social practice reduced to the body.…Gender relations, the relations among people and groups organized through the reproductive arena, form one of the major structures of all documented societies. (Connell, 1995, p. 71)

Through the interaction of gender as social practice and structure, conceptions of masculinity and femininity evolve as "configurations of gender practice" (Connell, 1995, p. 72). In this sense, Connell (1995) views masculinity and femininity as "gender projects" (p. 72). He asserts that gender configuration occurs at individual and institutional or organizational sites. That is, both individuals and organizations are gendered.

D. THEORIES OF GENDER IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

"Gender identity" refers to an individual's psychological sense of self as a female or male while "gender role" refers to the socially constructed and culturally specific attitudes, behaviors, and expectations associated with each sex. These concepts are crucial to understanding the four main theories of gender identity development in individuals: psychodynamic theory, social learning theory, cognitive development theory, and gender schema theory. Each perspective adds a unique, explanatory dimension to understanding the process of gender identity development in individuals. Although all of the theories have flaws, the literature suggests that an integrative theory is necessary to account for the complex interplay of biology and environment in an individual's gender identity development.

1. Psychodynamic Theory

Traditional psychodynamic theory has its roots in Sigmund Freud's assertion that "anatomy is destiny" (Basow, 1992, p. 90). He argued that between the ages of three and six children become aware of anatomical differences among girls and boys. Girls, in particular, develop "penis envy." They wish that they were boys, and they reject their mothers because they also lack male genitalia. Boys, on the other

hand, develop "castration anxiety." They fear that they will lose their penises, and they compete with their fathers for their mothers' love and affection. Through resolution of these situations, respectively known as the Electra complex for girls and the Oedipus complex for boys, children identify with their same-sex parents and develop their gender identities. Freud argued that males' gender identities are stronger than females' gender identities because resolution of the Oedipus complex results in a stronger superego than the female superego resulting from resolution of the Electra complex.

There is little empirical support for these arguments, but some contemporary theorists agree with Freud on the assertion that "psychodynamic principles are the prime shapers of an individual's gender identity" (Basow, 1992, p. 119). They reject the "anatomy is destiny" part of his theory and accept his emphasis on the importance of children's identification with their same-sex parents. Some empirical support exists for these recent theories, but in general, psychodynamic theory fails to account for the influence of other people and environmental forces on children's gender identity development.

2. Social Learning Theory

Unlike psychodynamic theory, "social learning theory is not interested in biological influences, unconscious motivation, or other internal processes…" (Lindsey, 1997, p. 57). This theory focuses instead on the impact of environment on gender identity development. Children directly learn their gender roles through differential reinforcement; based on their genders, they either receive rewards or punishments for "girl" or "boy" behaviors. Through modeling or imitation, gender roles are indirectly learned. This acquisition of knowledge about gender roles becomes the basis for children's gender identities.

There are several problems with social learning theory. The process of gender identity development is not as consistent as the theory suggests. For example, girls may receive positive reinforcement for "masculine" and "feminine" behaviors. Social learning theory also fails to account for the "often immense individual variation in the genders" (Lindsey, 1997, p. 59) and the impact of cultural and subcultural influences on children's experiences. Finally, contrary to social learning views, children are not passive actors in the gender socialization process. The theory does not consider their active participation in

socialization through the interaction of mind and environment.

3. Cognitive Development Theory

According to cognitive development theory, children are active participants in the gender socialization process. They learn their gender roles based on the level of their cognitive development and their understanding of the world (Lindsey, 1997). Between the ages of five and seven, children are able to comprehend the constancy of gender. That is, they understand that they and others may be labeled as girls and boys, and these labels do not change. At this time, cognitive development theorists assert that children acquire their gender identities. The role of the self is especially important in a child's cognitive development, and the newly acquired gender identity becomes a central component of a child's sense of self. The child will then model behaviors consistent with her or his gender identity.

There are strengths and weaknesses of cognitive development theory. Strengths include its recognition of other important socializing agents in children's lives besides parents; its emphasis on children's active participation in the socialization process; and its explanatory capability with respect to the variety of differences within genders. The theory's weaknesses center

on its notion of gender identity as a prerequisite for gender-appropriate behaviors and preferences.

4. Gender Schema Theory

Gender schema theory is an integrative theory of gender identity development, containing features of both social learning and cognitive development theories (Basow, 1992). Its central tenet focuses on children's acquisition of gender-based schemata as they learn their culture's definitions of gender. Schemata are cognitive structures, which allow individuals to organize their perceptions of the world. A gender schema contains prescriptions and proscriptions for attributes, behaviors, and values that may significantly influence conduct and self-esteem. Using a complex, "own-group" versus "out-group" schema, girls and boys assimilate new information, develop their gender identities, and choose gender-appropriate behaviors (Lindsey, 1997).

Although there is substantial support for gender schema theory in the literature and it is "noteworthy in its emphasis on the acquired nature of gender schema" (Basow, 1992, p. 125), the theory still has flaws. In particular, some research has criticized gender schema theory for its exclusion of situational variables. These arguments suggest that certain situations do not cause gender-schematic

processing. Contrary to gender schema theory, individuals may not use gender schema to organize their perceptions of the world in certain situations.

E. A MODEL OF GENDER SOCIALIZATION

Socialization is "the lifelong process through which individuals learn their culture, develop their human potential, and become functioning members of society" (Lindsey, 1997, p. 53). As the definition implies, socialization occurs in many settings or environments. For children and adults in American culture, socialization also entails instruction in gender and what it means to be girls, boys, women, and men.

This section outlines the specifics of gender socialization through the identification of socializing agents and forces in individuals' lives. Like the previous section, it highlights the importance of people, environment, and culture in the formation of individuals' gender identities and gender roles.

1. Parents

Parents or primary caregivers are the most important socializing agents in children's lives. From the moment a baby is born and announced to be a girl or a boy, the parents have gender-based expectations of their infant. In

a well-known study by Rubin, Provenzano, and Luria (as cited in Doyle & Paludi, 1995), first-time parents were interviewed one day after their infant's birth. Results showed that fathers typically described their newborn sons as "firmer, larger featured, better coordinated, more alert, stronger, and hardier," while fathers of newborn daughters saw them as "softer, finer featured, more awkward, more inattentive, weaker, and more delicate" (Doyle & Paludi, 1995, p. 98). The mothers also made gender-based observations of their infants, but not to the same degree as the fathers. Despite their descriptions, no significant differences in weight, length, or activity actually existed among the newborn children.

Parents teach the rules of gender with the clothes, toys, types of play activities, discipline, and household chores that they select for their children. Some girls' physical movements are constrained by fancy dresses while boys are typically dressed to explore and get dirty. Parents are likely to give their daughters dolls and miniature household appliances to play with; boys are likely to receive sports equipment, building blocks, and trucks. Studies have shown that parents are more inclined to play actively with their sons while playtime with daughters centers around verbal activities (Doyle & Paludi, 1995).

Parents may even hold their daughters and sons differently. Girls are likely to face inward, and boys are oriented to face their surroundings (Mann, 1994). Boys are also likely to be disciplined in more physical ways. Finally, the assignment of chores around the house and the parents' own division of household work signals to children what is appropriate "women's work" and "men's work."

Race, class, maternal employment, and size and gender makeup of the family are important variables to consider when discussing the effects of parents on their children's gender socialization. For example, research has indicated that gender stereotypes are less strong among Black families as "both sons and daughters are socialized toward independence, employment, and child care" (Basow, 1992, p. 132). In the area of class, studies have shown that parents in working-class families are more likely to enforce stricter standards of gender-appropriate behavior compared to parents in middle-class families. Despite these and other studies, research with race and class variables is lacking in the literature because past studies have largely focused on White, middle-class families.

2. Teachers

In addition to parents as socializing agents, school teachers give lessons in the rules of gender. Like parents,

school teachers have gender-based expectations and beliefs; their messages will likely reinforce those messages received at home regarding gender-appropriate behavior. Susan A. Basow (1992) explains that "even when teacher messages contradict parental messages, their influence is enormous and sometimes is greater than parental influence, especially if the messages are supported by other socializing forces" (p. 135).

Beginning in preschool and continuing through college, girls and young women learn to be quiet and passive, surviving with less classroom air time and feedback than their male peers at school. Numerous studies present empirical evidence supporting the idea that boys are at the center of the educational process. They often command more of a teacher's attention than the girls in class, and they receive more critical feedback encouraging them to produce better results. Girls do not learn how to accept criticism because they receive so little of it. Upon completion of a job well done, teachers often praise boys for their skill and intelligence while girls are praised for their hard work (see Mann, 1994).

Teacher influence is further understood in terms of other variables interacting with gender in the classroom. For example, Ross and Jackson's study (as cited in Basow,

1992) shows that even when major behavioral characteristics were controlled, teachers still predicted lower success for Black males. Other relevant studies suggest that race has a powerful influence on teachers' perceptions and judgments: "Asian students are perceived as having the best work habits; Black students, especially Black males, the worst" (Basow, 1992, p. 136). To fully appreciate the power of teachers as socializing agents, one must consider the interaction of gender with race and class.

3. Peers

Peers are socializing agents whose influence grows over time. Peer reinforcement of certain behaviors begins in preschool years and continues through adolescence. Children, whose behaviors and attitudes comply with gender-appropriate mandates for girl and boy behavior, are accepted by their peers; children, who do not adopt appropriate behaviors and attitudes, are typically labeled as "tomboys" or "sissies." As children get older, peer labeling intensifies, and peer instruction in the rules of gender may be stronger than that of other socializing agents (Basow, 1992).

Children segregate themselves in same-sex groups at an early age. Maccoby and Jacklin's study (as cited in Basow, 1992) suggests that the reason for such sex segregation

rests in girls' negative experiences during playtime with boys. Basow (1992) notes that "boys tend to dominate and bully girls in mixed-sex groups, and girls consequently try to avoid such situations" (p. 138).

In addition to peers, teachers, parents, and other socializing influences tend to reinforce sex segregation through children's lives, resulting in particularly noteworthy outcomes. Girls and boys grow up in different peer environments or subcultures (Basow, 1992). Comparing boys' subcultures to that of girls, theirs consists of "larger groups, less proximity to adults, more public play, more fighting and physical contact, more dominance attempts, and the establishment of a hierarchical 'pecking order'" (Basow, 1992, p. 138). Girls' subcultures are characterized by small groups, connection with adults, and sharing in play and conversations. In these subcultures, gender stereotypes flourish and restrict members' behaviors, attitudes, and cross-sex relations. As a result of these restrictions, Fagot's study (as cited in Lindsey, 1997) notes that "boys and girls will meet in adolescence virtually as strangers, having learned different styles of interaction."

4. School

Aside from teachers and peers, characteristics of the school environment are socializing forces, conveying

messages about gender. Instructional materials and school atmosphere, in particular, are two significant factors. Various studies have documented the overrepresentation of males in school textbooks beginning in grade school and continuing into high school and college (Basow, 1992). Early school experiences typically teach girls that math and science are masculine endeavors, and they are unlikely to perform well in either subject. These learning experiences are reinforced by textbooks portraying only boys and by families who set low performance expectations for their daughters in math and science (Mann, 1994).

While schools may teach girls that they do not have the intellectual capabilities to do math and science, they also may teach girls that they are less valuable than boys. This devaluation of young women is particularly oppressive during adolescence. Sexual harassment is rampant in American schools (Mann, 1994). In many cases, schools dismiss boys' sexual harassment of girls, declaring that "boys will be boys" and that girls are overreacting to "normal" behavior between the sexes.

5. Play

According to Basow (1992), "from toys to sports, play activities help socialize children into their gender roles" (p. 143). As noted earlier, many girls and boys receive

gender-appropriate toys starting at birth. Toys develop a variety of skills in children with boys' toys tending to promote visual-spatial and manual abilities, and girls' toys tending to elicit more verbal and nurturing behaviors.

Beginning at an early age and continuing into adulthood, more males participate in sports activities than females (Basow, 1992). Athletic participation has both positive and negative consequences for girls and boys. Girls' self-confidence and well-being improve when they participate in sports. Other studies have shown that boys are more likely to participate in competitive, team-based sports in which they learn to work with others to achieve desired goals.

The negative aspects of athletic participation stem from the strong link between sports and masculinity. Following Basow (1992), "sports participation is a major form of male socialization" (p. 146). Both males who are uninterested or unskilled in sports and female sports enthusiasts may be strongly stigmatized by their peers. In the former case, the presence of masculine identity is questioned; in the latter case, masculine identity is assumed and often labeled lesbian.

6. Media

The media are powerful socializing forces in people's lives, containing prescriptions for traditional feminine and masculine role behaviors. Although the presentation of women has improved in the past decade, television programs, film, and print media still convey gender stereotypes.

a) Television

Children's shows, prime-time television, commercials, and music television uphold traditional notions of femininity and masculinity (Basow, 1992). Male roles consistently outnumber female roles in children's programming and some prime-time shows. Aside from numbers, the qualities associated with female and male characters are stereotypical. While male characters are more likely to be aggressive, direct, and helpful, female characters are more likely to engage in helpless, incompetent, and manipulative behaviors.

Television commercials and music television are especially limited in their representations of women and men (Basow, 1992). Women are typically portrayed as wives, mothers, sex objects, or seductresses. They often have starring roles in household cleaning product commercials, or advertisements regularly feature them as decorative fixtures

in sales pitches for alcohol or automobiles. In music videos, themes of sexualized violence, male dominance, and female subordination are commonplace.

b) Film

The presentation of women and men in film has changed with the social context (Lindsey, 1997). During the years of World War II, movies depicted women as strong, confident, and self-sacrificing. Their contribution to the war effort was highly praised and symbolized by Rosie the Riveter, the heroine on the home front (Lindsey, 1997).

Since that time, film has tended to portray women as either good or bad. Silvas, Jenkins, and Grant's article (as cited in Lindsey, 1997) argues that a limited range of female characters exists in films, and female actors typically star as madonnas, whores, "bimbos," psychotics, or bitches.

Movies have also unrealistically portrayed men's lives. The glorification of violence and sexual conquest are common themes that serve to distort men's reality. Like the portrayal of women, the representation of men in film is indicative of male movie executives' power to create male fantasies of women and men instead of realistic presentations (Lindsey, 1997).

c) Print Media

Print media, including books, magazines, and print advertising, generally depict women and men in stereotyped ways (Basow, 1992). Whereas children's books continue to reinforce traditional feminine and masculine role behaviors, adult fiction presents a wider variety of roles and behaviors. Nevertheless, books targeted at male audiences still rely on themes of violence against women, dominance, and aggression.

As Basow (1992) notes, "gender stereotypes abound in magazines as well…" (p. 165). Many women's magazines focus on romance, beauty, hairstyles, dieting, and fashion. Although career achievement has become a key theme in some magazines, the message is still about physical appearance and its connection to success. In men's magazines, themes typically center on sexuality, sports, and adventure.

Aside from books and magazines, print advertising is especially stereotypical. Lindsey (1997) notes that in the 1990s, "stereotypic portrayals of women as sex objects have increased" (p. 313). While males' faces are photographed more often than their bodies, females' bodies or parts of their bodies are shown more often than their faces. Advertising, with its reliance on unnaturally thin models, often communicates a beauty ideal for women that is

impossible to achieve. Like television commercials, print advertising features men in dominant, instrumental roles while women are portrayed as decorative accessories.

7. Language

The English language is a socializing force, contributing to the maintenance of men's power over women (Basow, 1992). Through ignoring, stereotyping, or disparaging women, language serves to legitimize men's position in society and women's marginalization. Women are ignored by using masculine terms and words to refer to human beings, conveying the message that men are the norm and women are the exception. Language stereotypes women by describing them solely on the basis of appearance, or referring to them only in the context of relationships with men. Finally, language may trivialize, sexualize, insult, or depersonalize women. Stanley's study (as cited in Basow, 1992) finds 220 terms for a sexually promiscuous female compared to 22 terms for a sexually promiscuous male.

8. Religion

Like the English language, religion is a socializing force that teaches the rules of gender. According to Basow (1992), "virtually all major religions of the world, including the Judeo-Christian religions dominant in America, place strong emphasis on the two sexes' acting in ways

consistent with traditional patriarchal society" (p. 156). Through the elimination of women's biblical writings and history in the church, these religions have virtually eliminated women's prominent role in spirituality and their connection with a divine being.

F. GENDERING PROCESSES IN ORGANIZATIONS

Like individuals, organizations are gendered and create gender. Gendering processes are "concrete organizational activities" (Acker, 1992, p. 252). That is, an organization produces gender through its members' actions, words, and thoughts. The construction of gender also goes beyond the level of individual members and is accomplished by the organization itself. Silvia Gherardi (1995) explains that:

> Gender...is socially produced by processes in which organizations actively participate and by which these organizations are shaped: practices "make" gender in that they produce and reproduce social relations and material culture and the artifacts that sustain them. (p. 18)

Joan Acker (1992) describes the organizational production of gender in terms of four interacting processes "that are components of the same reality, although, for purposes of description, they can be seen as analytically distinct" (p. 252). She emphasizes that gendering processes in organizations "may occur in gender-explicit or gender-

neutral practices," and they "usually have class and racial implications" (p. 252). To understand gendering processes in organizations, one must recognize that they occur in the context of other social processes involving race and class.

1. Production of gender divisions

Following Acker (1992), "ordinary organizational practices produce the gender patterning of jobs, wages, and hierarchies, power, and subordination" (p. 252). Managers in organizations have the ability to make decisions that either sustain or change gender patterns. For example, a work center supervisor in the Navy, who is typically a senior petty officer, has the power to delegate administrative duties to either a female or male sailor under her or his charge. The production of gender divisions also exists in organizations, such as the Navy, where men overwhelmingly outnumber women in the upper echelons of leadership.

2. Creation of symbols and images

Organizations produce gender through their creation of symbols and images. These symbols and images may explain, reinforce, or oppose gender divisions, though opposition is rare (Acker, 1992). For example, top business and military leaders in American culture are often portrayed as strong, decisive, rational, and forceful—qualities that are

stereotypically masculine and reserved for men only. In addition, "the organization itself is often defined through metaphors of masculinity of a certain sort" (Acker, 1992, p. 253). It may be characterized as aggressive, efficient, and competitive.

3. Interactions among individuals

Another way that organizations produce gender is found in the interactions among organizational members. These interactions include exchanges between women and men, women and women, and men and men. All relationships that "enact dominance and subordination and create alliances and exclusions" (Acker, 1992, p. 253) contribute to the organizational production of gender. Following Acker, "interactions may be between supervisors and subordinates, between coworkers, or between workers and customers, clients, or other outsiders" (p. 253). Sexuality is often either overtly or covertly involved in these interactions. Previous research by Margosian and Vendrzyk (1994) highlights the experiences of female officers in the Navy, the opposition from other Navy members to women's presence in the ranks, and the use of women's bodies and sexuality to exclude them.

4. Gender identities

A final way to characterize an organization as a gendering process is through "the internal mental work of individuals" as they seek to understand their organization's "gendered structure of work and opportunity and the demands for gender-appropriate behaviors and attitudes" (Acker, 1992, p. 253). Individuals form their identities in the organization through their "choice of work, use of language, clothing, and presentation of self..." (Margosian & Vendrzyk, 1994). This process also includes creating the "correct" gendered persona and hiding aspects of one's life that may be viewed by others as unacceptable (Acker, 1992). As Frank J. Barrett (1997) argues, female naval officers reconstruct their gender identities to fit into the U.S. Navy, relying on one or a combination of three gender strategies: the masculinizing strategy, accommodating strategy, or degendering strategy. Female officers who rely on the masculinizing strategy adopt traditional masculine practices and comply with masculine norms of behavior. Those who use the accommodating strategy cooperate and support men's sense of competence or superiority. Reliance on the degendering strategy requires female officers to disown traditional masculine and feminine practices and norms of behavior. Barrett (1997) also points out that male officers in the

Navy have much greater freedom to form their identities in the organization compared to their female peers.

G. HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY IN THE U.S. NAVY

The Navy is a gendered institution, specifically a masculinist organization, whose "structure, practices, values, rites, and rituals reflect accepted notions of masculinity and femininity" (Barrett, 1996, p. 141). As previous examples have illustrated, the Navy is also a gendering organization. This section continues with this theme, focusing on the Navy's construction of hegemonic masculinity.

Connell (1987) defines hegemonic masculinities as idealized images of masculinity that are "always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women" (p. 183). In American culture, men who measure up to the hegemonic ideal of masculinity are strong, aggressive, heterosexual, technically competent, and independent (Connell, 1995). This characterization does not imply that the hegemonic ideal of masculinity is a stereotypical gender role. It is instead a form of masculinity presently occupying the dominant position in a system of gender relations. Because this dominance may be challenged by other men and women, hegemonic masculinity is

a "historically mobile relation" (Connell, 1995, p. 77). Its definition always depends on the themes of dominance, subordination, and marginalization.

Following David H. J. Morgan (1994), the military is "a site for the development of a plurality of masculinities rather than a single, dominant, and highly embodied masculinity" (p. 180). Barrett (1996) echoes this theme in his research on the organizational construction of hegemonic masculinity in the Navy. Focusing on the life histories of male officers in three warfare communities—surface warfare, aviation, and submarine warfare—he identifies the Navy's construction of hegemonic masculinity and how male officers "draw upon themes of hegemonic masculinity to negotiate their various organizational situations" (Barrett, 1996, p. 131).

According to Barrett (1996), the hegemonic ideal of masculinity in the Navy is a man who is disciplined, tough, aggressive, heterosexual, unemotional, and persevering. This definition of masculinity achieves meaning within the pattern of gender relations in the Navy where anything associated with femininity is considered weak and women are considered "the Others." Barrett's research shows that the various parts of the hegemonic masculine ideal relied upon

by male Navy warfare officers depend on contrasting definitions of femininity.

H. NAVY RECRUIT TRAINING AS A GENDERING PROCESS

Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978) assert that military indoctrination, or basic training is a powerful adult socialization process that shapes masculine role definitions and attitudes. Applying Goffman's definition of a total institution (as cited in Zurcher, 1967) as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life," Zurcher (1967) describes the RTC as a total institution where recruits, in varying degrees, are dispossessed of their civilian roles and presented with the expectations of the sailor role. As in civilian socialization, gender is a salient aspect of the military socialization process in Navy recruit training.

Following Acker's (1992) description of the organizational production of gender, Navy recruit training may be viewed as a gendering process. First, gender divisions exist in the organization's structure. The procedures to integrate recruit training paradoxically perpetuate gender divisions. Less than 10% of male recruits

train with female recruits, dividing trainees into three groups: integrated women, integrated men, and segregated men. Gender divisions also appear to exist in certain jobs. Despite Navy efforts to increase the number of female trainers, over 85% of RDCs are male.

A second way of characterizing Navy recruit training as a gendering process is through the training program's creation of symbols and images. As noted earlier, the mission of recruit training is to transform civilian volunteers into enlisted apprentice sailors. The sailor role is a traditional male role rich in its symbolism and imagery. Visitors at the United States Navy Memorial in Washington, DC are greeted by the "Lone Sailor," a large bronze statue of a Navy man standing in the middle of a marble plaza. A similar statue welcomes visitors to RTC's Lone Sailor Memorial Park. The recruits' trainee guide also features the "Lone Sailor" on its cover, and one of its lessons focuses on an essay entitled "I am the American Sailor." Although the article is written in the first person and suggests that sailors are diverse in sex, race, ethnicity, and religion, its historical references to naval heroes and exploits do not call attention to women's achievements in the Navy.

Another example of recruit training's production of gender through symbolism and imagery involves the role of "warrior." Like the sailor role, the role of "warrior" is a traditional male role (Stiehm, 1989). American films, such as *In Harm's Way* and *Top Gun*, provide us with many examples of warriors, serving to reinforce male warrior symbolism and imagery. Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978) note that the military has yet to develop a female warrior model. Although their work is somewhat dated, its message still stands today despite increasing numbers of women in the military and their representation in combat-related occupations.

One of the goals of Navy recruit training is to instill "warrior ethos" in recruits. Performance measures like "Battle Stations" are designed to stimulate the warrior attributes of sacrifice, dedication, teamwork, and endurance in each recruit. American culture has traditionally associated these attributes with men and labeled the attributes as masculine. When recruits internalize and enact these masculine gendered attributes, Navy recruit training is operating as a gendering process.

Aside from symbolism and imagery, gender is produced through individuals' interactions in the recruit training process. Zurcher (1967) notes that military socialization in a total institution requires recruits to interact with

RDCs and other recruits in order to become sailors. As a result of these interactions, "images of gender are created and affirmed" (Acker, 1992, p. 253).

RDCs and recruits may evoke traditional gender roles in their interactions with others. Anne Huff (1990) argues that "many men still think primarily in terms of a patriarchal relationship with women" (p. 14). They recall familiar gender roles such as mother, sister, wife, lover, or casual sex partner when interacting with women in organizational contexts. In the recruit training environment, some RDCs may elicit these well-known gender roles as they interact with their recruits. Relations between some male RDCs and their female recruits may resemble relations between fathers and daughters. Male recruits may relate to their female RDCs as sons relate to their mothers. Whatever traditional gender role is recalled, the process serves to transform an unfamiliar situation into a familiar one, and it often occurs with the "comfort of well-defined and accepted male dominance" (Huff, 1990, p. 14).

Finally, recruit training is a gendering process at an individual level of analysis. In a recruit indoctrination film entitled *The Days Will Drag, but the Weeks Will Fly*, a female recruit explains how she "lost her femininity" during

training, but was able to "package it back up" and call herself a sailor. This comment suggests that she and all recruits reshape their gender identities to become members of the Navy. Formation of a sailor identity requires understanding the organization's structure, opportunities, and messages of valued behaviors and attitudes. Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978) argue that basic training translates into socialization into a masculine domain. The interaction of recruit and Navy does not occur in a gender-neutral context because much of the behavior that recruit training seeks to reinforce is typically characterized as traditional masculine behavior.

Navy recruit training creates and reinforces masculinities. Depending on the intensity of socialization in traditional masculine behavior received during civilian socialization, some recruits may experience more difficulty than others in the formation of their identities as sailors. Adjustment difficulties may result both for women and men, although female recruits are likely to have more difficulties adjusting to a masculinist organization than are their male peers. Huff (1990) points out that women as well as men may be uncomfortable with women's identities in an organization. Like female officers in the Navy, female recruits may pursue a limited variety of gender strategies

in order to form their sailor identities and fit into the organization. Their male peers have much greater freedom to form their sailor identities because recruit training's gendered expectations are likely to fit with male recruits' civilian socialization experiences. For female and male recruits, socialization into the values and norms of masculinity is a dominant activity of Navy recruit training.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. OVERVIEW

This study posits that Navy recruit training is a gendering process socializing women and men to increase their valuing of attributes that are traditionally identified as masculine. A psychometric inventory of gender role attributes, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), was used to measure recruits' self assessment of femininity and masculinity. Metrics based on the BSRI were then used to test the hypothesis that Navy recruit training is a gendering process.

In addition to the BSRI, structured interviews with RTC Great Lakes officers, RDCs, female recruits, and male recruits were conducted to gain an understanding of the military socialization experience. Purposes of the interviews were to discover if Navy recruit training is experienced as a gendering process and to provide more details than available from the BSRI.

B. BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

1. Background

The BSRI is a psychological research instrument developed by Dr. Sandra L. Bem, a professor of psychology at

Cornell University. Originally published in 1974 and modified in 1977, the BSRI was constructed to measure an individual's femininity and masculinity. Bem hypothesized that people incorporate traditional feminine and masculine qualities in their personalities and behaviors depending on the situation and appropriateness of the attributes (Bem, 1981). She developed her inventory to measure the incorporation of culturally defined femininity and masculinity in individuals.

The BSRI was, and still is, a distinctive research tool compared to other psychological measures of femininity and masculinity. Part of Bem's contribution was the conceptualization of femininity and masculinity as two independent dimensions rather than as opposite ends of a single dimension (Bem, 1981). The BSRI measures individuals on two separate scales: a femininity scale and a masculinity scale. With these measures, it captures individuals' self assessment of culturally defined femininity and masculinity.

The BSRI is a widely used research instrument. Noll, Smith, and Bryant (1996) studied the effects of social context on BSRI scores, and Nicholls and Forbes (1996) used the BSRI to study hand preference, i.e., left-handedness or right-handedness, and its relationship with gender-related

psychological and physiological characteristics. Witt (1995) examined the gender roles of female and male characters in elementary school basal readers using traits from the BSRI. Maupin and Lehman (1993) used the BSRI to analyze the gender roles of female and male auditors in the accounting profession. Basow and Silberg (1987) asked undergraduates to rate female and male professors using the BSRI to determine the effect of gender-based expectations on faculty evaluations.

Earlier research includes a study by Swartz (1983) that investigated the relationship between women's gender roles as measured by the BSRI and their preferences for the portrayal of women in print advertising. Wiggins and Holzmuller's study (as cited in Bem, 1981) examined the relationship between the incorporation of culturally defined femininity and masculinity and interpersonal behavior among undergraduates with the BSRI. An empirical study by Abrahams, Feldman, and Nash (as cited in Bem, 1981) used the BSRI to measure the adaptation of gender roles to changing life circumstances. Ickes and Barnes' study (as cited in Bem, 1981) examined the interactions of mixed-gender pairs of girls and boys whose gender roles had been measured with the BSRI. Hansson, Chernovetz, and Jones' research (as cited in Bem, 1981) measured female undergraduates'

femininity and masculinity using the BSRI and studied the relationship between maternal employment and gender role.

Studies have also established the BSRI's construct validity and reliability (Bieger, 1985). That is, the BSRI provides an accurate representation of an individual's gender role, and it has test-retest and internal-consistency reliabilities.

2. Development and scoring

To construct the BSRI, Bem began with a pool of 200 stereotypically feminine and masculine attributes. She asked 100 Stanford University undergraduates to rate these personality characteristics based on their social desirability as defined by American society. This survey allowed her to identify 60 personality characteristics for the BSRI: 20 stereotypically feminine qualities, 20 stereotypically masculine qualities, and 20 neutral qualities. Table 1 lists these characteristics. Using the 7-point scale described in Table 2, BSRI respondents indicate how true each characteristic is for them.

Several scores result from administration of the BSRI. Femininity (F) and masculinity (M) scores are obtained by averaging an individual's ratings of the feminine and masculine attributes on the BSRI. These scores may then be

averaged to obtain mean femininity scores and mean masculinity scores for samples.

Table 1. BSRI Characteristics

Masculine Attributes	Feminine Attributes	Neutral Attributes
Aggressive	Affectionate	Adaptable
Assertive	Compassionate	Conceited
Defends own beliefs	Eager to soothe hurt feelings	Conscientious
Dominant	Gentle	Conventional
Forceful	Loves children	Jealous
Has leadership abilities	Sensitive to needs of others	Moody
Independent	Sympathetic	Reliable
Strong personality	Tender	Secretive
Willing to take a stand	Understanding	Tactful
Willing to take risks	Warm	Truthful
Acts as a leader	Cheerful	Friendly
Ambitious	Childlike	Happy
Analytical	Does not use harsh language	Helpful
Athletic	Feminine	Inefficient
Competitive	Flatterable	Likable
Individualistic	Gullible	Sincere
Makes decisions easily	Loyal	Solemn
Masculine	Shy	Theatrical
Self-reliant	Soft-spoken	Unpredictable
Self-sufficient	Yielding	Unsystematic

Note. From "The Measurement of Psychological Androgyny," by S. L. Bem, 1974, *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 42*, p. 156.

Table 2. BSRI Rating Scale

Numerical Rating	Definition
1	Never or almost never true
2	Usually not true
3	Sometimes but infrequently true
4	Occasionally true
5	Often true
6	Usually true
7	Always or almost always true

Note. From *Bem Sex Role Inventory Professional Manual*, by S. L. Bem, 1981, Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

3. Short form

Bem published a shortened version of the BSRI in 1981 to refine the original form. The Short BSRI is a subset of the Original BSRI, containing half of the first inventory's personality characteristics. The short form is composed of 10 stereotypically feminine attributes, 10 stereotypically masculine attributes, and 10 neutral qualities. The first ten attributes listed in each column of Table 1 are present on the Short BSRI. One of the criteria for selection of these attributes was the maximization of the internal consistency reliabilities both of the femininity and masculinity scales (Bem, 1981).

Martin and Ramanaiah (1988) conducted confirmatory factor analysis of both the original and short versions of the BSRI. Their purpose was to test Bem's hypothesis that femininity and masculinity are two independent dimensions. Using a statistical test of the two-factor nature of the inventory, their results indicated that the short form provides a better fit to the two-factor model and has more homogeneous scales than the long form. They also noted that the short form and long form masculinity scales have comparable internal consistency reliabilities while the short form femininity scale has a better internal

consistency than the long form. They concluded that research using the BSRI should employ the short rather than the long version. Consequently, this study used the short form.

C. SAMPLING PLAN

This study used the Short BSRI to obtain F and M scores from Navy recruits at different stages in the recruit training process. The sampling goal was to obtain gender metrics for at least 100 women and 100 men both at the beginning and end of recruit training. To achieve this goal, the sample consisted of nine recruit divisions with five divisions at the beginning of recruit training and four divisions at the end.

D. STATISTICAL TESTS

As noted above, the BSRI facilitates the testing of the following hypothesis: Navy recruit training is a gendering process socializing women and men to increase their valuing of attributes that are traditionally identified as masculine. If this hypothesis is true, then regardless of gender, recruits' masculinities will increase over the course of recruit training. That is, M scores for recruits at the end of training will be greater than the M scores for recruits at the beginning of training. To test for this

hypothesized increase in masculinities, this study examined recruits' M scores using t tests for sample mean differences.

Comparing sample means of M scores for recruit divisions at the beginning and end of training, this study expected to observe an increase in sample means over time both among female and male recruits. The null and alternative hypotheses were the following:

Females: H_o: $\mu_{M,A} \geq \mu_{M,B}$

H_1: $\mu_{M,A} < \mu_{M,B}$

Males: H_o: $\mu_{M,A} \geq \mu_{M,B}$

H_1: $\mu_{M,A} < \mu_{M,B}$

where M was the masculinity score, A was beginning recruits, and B was ending recruits.

E. STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

To gain a deeper understanding of the military socialization experience than that provided by the BSRI, structured interviews with RTC Great Lakes officers, RDCs, female recruits, and male recruits were conducted. A purpose of the structured interviews was to discover if Navy recruit training is experienced as a gendering process.

With assistance from the Executive Officer of RTC Great Lakes, seven officers were selected for interviews using the

questions listed in Appendix B. RTC Great Lakes scheduling personnel randomly scheduled four groups of female and male RDCs ranging in number from three to six people. They were interviewed using the questions also listed in Appendix B. Interviews lasted between one hour and one and a half hours. For both officers and RDCs, interview questions focused on the goals of recruit training, characteristics of a "good" or high performing sailor, and adjustment to recruit training for female and male recruits.

Finally, four groups of female recruits and four groups of male recruits ranging in number from four to six people were interviewed using the questions listed in Appendix C. RTC Great Lakes scheduling personnel randomly selected recruits for the interviews. Recruit groups were composed of recruits at the beginning, middle, and end of the training program. Interview questions for recruits focused on characteristics of a "good" or high performing sailor, and personal challenges and changes in boot camp.

F. LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations to this methodology. The most serious potential limitation is the use of synthetic cohorts in lieu of true longitudinal data. However, the large sample size of surveyed recruits and the uniformity of

the recruit training process lend confidence to this study's procedures. To the extent there is substantial variation in gender metric distributions across divisions for the same sex samples in the same time periods, the efficacy of synthetic cohorts is reduced.

Additionally, self and organizational selection aspects may result in women and men joining the military who have higher M scores than comparable civilian cohorts. This study is interested in the shift effects of recruit training on masculinities; self and organizational selection would serve to limit the gendering effects of recruit training. That is, if women and men in the military have higher masculinities than their counterpart civilian cohorts, the effect of self and organizational selection would reduce the opportunities for recruits becoming more masculine gendered.

Lastly, the BSRI may be dated. Stanford University undergraduates rated the social desirability of the instrument's 60 personality characteristics in 1972, about 25 years ago. However, the literature highlights the enduring qualities of societal definitions of femininity and masculinity (Lindsey, 1997). Since this study focuses on the measurement of shifts in masculinities, even if the individual masculine characteristics of the BSRI are less

accurate at an absolute level, they are not likely to affect shifts substantially over a 10 week period.

V. RESULTS

A. BSRI DATA

This study used the Short BSRI to obtain femininity (F) and masculinity (M) scores for 542 Navy recruits: 337 recruits at the beginning of training and 205 recruits at the end of training. Nine recruit divisions were surveyed with five divisions at the beginning and four divisions at the end. Of the total sample of surveyed recruits (N=559), 17 surveys (3%) contained missing values for BSRI characteristics and were deleted from the sample. No systematic relationship between recruits with missing values and their F and M scores was detected.

Tables 3 and 4 present the sex, race, and age distributions for beginning and ending recruits respectively. There was a smaller representation of Black recruits in the beginning recruit subsample (15%) compared to the representation of Black FY 1996 Navy accessions (19%). Hispanic and White distributions were similar for the beginning recruit subsample and FY 1996 Navy accessions. There was a higher representation of "other" race recruits in the beginning recruit subsample (9%) compared to the representation of "other" race FY 1996 Navy accessions (7%). There was a greater representation of White recruits in the

beginning recruit subsample (63%) compared to the ending recruit subsample (47%). Black recruits comprised 15% of beginning recruits and 28% of ending recruits. As expected, recruits 18 to 21 years old represented the largest age category of beginning (72%) and ending (79%) recruits.

Table 3. Sex, Race, and Age Distributions for Beginning Recruits (n=337)

Selected Characteristics	Number	Percent
SEX		
Female	155	46.0
Male	182	54.0
Total	337	100.0
RACE		
Black	52	15.4 (19.2)[a]
Hispanic	39	11.6 (11.1)[a]
White	213	63.2 (63.2)[a]
Other[b]	31	9.2 (6.5)[a]
Unknown[c]	2	0.6
Total	337	100.0
AGE (in years)		
17	20	5.9
18-21	241	71.5
22-25	59	17.5
26 and older	16	4.7
Unknown[c]	1	0.3
Total	337	100.0[d]

[a]Race distribution of FY 1996 Active Duty Navy Non-Prior Service Accessions
[b]This category includes Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and mixed races.
[c]In some cases, race or age was not indicated on the survey.
[d]Percents do not add exactly to 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 4. Sex, Race, and Age Distributions for Ending Recruits (n=205)

Selected Characteristics	Number	Percent
SEX		
Female	105	51.2
Male	100	48.8
Total	205	100.0
RACE		
Black	57	27.8
Hispanic	23	11.2
White	97	47.3
Other[a]	26	12.7
Unknown[b]	2	1.0
Total	205	100.0
AGE (in years)		
17	4	2.0
18-21	162	79.0
22-25	31	15.1
26 and older	7	3.4
Unknown[b]	1	0.5
Total	205	100.0

[a]This category includes Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and mixed races.
[b]In some cases, race or age was not indicated on the survey.

Tables 5 and 6 provide the race and age distributions of beginning and ending recruits by sex. Black female recruits comprised 20% of the beginning female recruit subsample compared to Black male recruits who comprised 12% of the beginning male recruit subsample. A similar pattern was observed for ending recruits. Black female recruits comprised 33% of the ending female recruit subsample while Black male recruits comprised 22% of the ending male recruit subsample.

The age distributions of beginning and ending male recruit subsamples were similar while the corresponding age

distributions of female recruit subsamples were different. Seventy percent of beginning female recruits were in the 18 to 21 year old age category compared to 82% of ending female recruits. Eighteen percent of beginning female recruits were in the 22 to 25 year old age category compared to 13% of ending female recruits.

Table 5. Race and Age Distributions of Beginning Recruits By Sex

Selected Characteristics	Female		Male	
	n	%	*n*	%
RACE				
Black	31	20.0	21	11.5
Hispanic	14	9.0	25	13.7
White	94	60.6	119	65.4
Other[a]	15	9.7	16	8.8
Unknown[b]	1	0.6	1	0.5
Total	155	100.0[c]	182	100.0[c]
AGE (in years)				
17	9	5.8	11	6.0
18-21	108	69.7	133	73.1
22-25	28	18.1	31	17.0
26 and older	10	6.5	6	3.3
Unknown[b]	0	0.0	1	0.5
Total	155	100.0[c]	182	100.0[c]

[a]This category includes Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and mixed races.
[b]In some cases, race or age was not indicated on the survey.
[c]Percents do not add exactly to 100.0 due to rounding.

Table 6. Race and Age Distributions of Ending Recruits By Sex

Selected Characteristics	Female		Male	
	n	%	*n*	%
RACE				
Black	35	33.3	22	22.0
Hispanic	9	8.6	14	14.0
White	45	42.9	52	52.0
Other[a]	14	13.3	12	12.0
Unknown[b]	2	1.9	0	0.0
Total	105	100.0	100	100.0
AGE (in years)				
17	1	1.0	3	3.0
18-21	86	81.9	76	76.0
22-25	14	13.3	17	17.0
26 and older	3	2.9	4	4.0
Unknown[b]	1	1.0	0	0.0
Total	105	100.0[c]	100	100.0

[a]This category includes Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and mixed races.
[b]In some cases, race or age was not indicated on the survey.
[c]Percents do not add exactly to 100.0 due to rounding.

B. FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY SCORES

Individual F and M scores were calculated for each recruit. Tables 7 and 8 present means and standard deviations for these scores for female and male recruit divisions respectively.

Table 7 indicates that the mean M scores were higher for ending female recruit divisions (M_M = 5.53) than the mean M scores for beginning female recruit divisions (M_M = 5.18). Table 8 indicates that the mean M scores were higher for ending male recruit divisions (M_M = 5.40) than the mean M scores for beginning male recruit divisions (M_M = 5.20). Mean F scores for beginning and ending female recruit

divisions were about the same (5.62 and 5.66 respectively). Mean F scores for beginning and ending male recruit divisions were also about the same (5.34 and 5.36 respectively).

Table 7. Mean Masculinity and Femininity Scores for Female Recruits By Division

Division #	n	M_M	SD_M	M_F	SD_F
BEGINNING					
145	59	5.31	.72	5.60	.89
148	56	5.10	1.04	5.65	.80
917	40	5.09	.95	5.60	.95
Total	155	5.18	.89	5.62	.87
ENDING					
091	64	5.51	.82	5.66	1.00
093	41	5.56	.98	5.67	.89
Total	105	5.53	.88	5.66	.96

Note. M_j is the division mean of F or M scores. SD_j is the standard deviation of F or M scores.

Table 8. Mean Masculinity and Femininity Scores for Male Recruits By Division

Division #	n	M_M	SD_M	M_F	SD_F
BEGINNING					
146	61	5.22	.84	5.41	1.03
147	84	5.21	.88	5.40	1.02
917	37	5.13	1.07	5.07	.95
Total	182	5.20	.91	5.34	1.01
ENDING					
092	69	5.38	.89	5.30	1.06
094	31	5.44	.64	5.50	1.11
Total	100	5.40	.81	5.36	1.08

Note. M_j is the division mean of F or M scores. SD_j is the standard deviation of F or M scores.

C. STATISTICAL TESTS

The separate-variance t' test statistic was used to test this study's hypotheses regarding mean masculinity scores for female and male recruits. This test statistic

can be approximated by a t distribution with ν degrees of freedom. The following expression for ν was rounded up to the next integer to obtain the appropriate degrees of freedom.

$$t' = \frac{(M_1 - M_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)}{\sqrt{\frac{SD_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{SD_2^2}{n_2}}}$$

$$\nu = \frac{\left(\frac{SD_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{SD_2^2}{n_2}\right)^2}{\frac{\left(\frac{SD_1^2}{n_1}\right)^2}{n_1 - 1} + \frac{\left(\frac{SD_2^2}{n_2}\right)^2}{n_2 - 1}}$$

A means test of masculinity scores for beginning and ending female recruits yielded a t' of -3.13 with ν=229, and a one-tailed probability value of .00087. A means test of masculinity scores for beginning and ending male recruits yielded a t' of -1.89 with ν=232, and a one-tailed probability value of .0249. Table 9 summarizes these results.

Table 9. Results of Means Tests on Masculinity Scores

	Females	**Males**
t'	-3.13	-1.89
p	.00087	.0249

These differences in mean masculinity scores for beginning and ending recruits were statistically significant at an alpha level of .01 for females and .05 for males, supporting the hypothesis that Navy recruit training is a gendering process. The results strongly indicate that masculinities increase over the course of recruit training for *both* female and male recruits.

D. STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Structured interviews were conducted with 7 RTC Great Lakes officers, 21 RDCs, 19 female recruits, and 22 male recruits. All interviewed officers were White, and five of the seven officers were women. Tables 10 and 11 describe the samples of RDCs and recruits who were interviewed. In Table 10, the race and rank distributions of RDCs by sex is presented. Black female RDCs comprised 36% of the female RDC subsample. There were no Black male RDCs represented in the male RDC subsample. The most typical rank for female RDCs was E-5 (55% of interviewed female RDCs) while the most typical rank for male RDCs was E-6 (40% of interviewed male RDCs).

Table 11 presents the race and age distributions of interviewed recruits by sex. Race distributions show that there was greater racial diversity among female recruits

compared to male recruits. Age distributions indicate that there was greater age diversity among female recruits compared to male recruits.

Table 10. Race and Rank Distributions of Interviewed RDCs By Sex

Selected Characteristics	Female		Male	
	n	%	*n*	%
RACE				
Black	4	36.4	0	0.0
Hispanic	0	0.0	0	0.0
White	7	63.6	10	100.0
Other[a]	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	11	100.0	10	100.0
RANK				
E-5	6	54.5	3	30.0
E-6	3	27.3	4	40.0
E-7	2	18.2	2	20.0
E-8	0	0.0	1	10.0
Total	11	100.0	10	100.0

[a]This category includes Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and mixed races.

Table 11. Race and Age Distributions of Interviewed Recruits By Sex

Selected Characteristics	Female		Male	
	n	%	*n*	%
RACE				
Black	5	26.3	2	9.1
Hispanic	2	10.5	1	4.5
White	11	57.9	18	81.8
Other[a]	1	5.3	1	4.5
Total	19	100.0	22	100.0[b]
AGE (in years)				
17	2	10.5	0	0.0
18-21	14	73.7	18	81.8
22-25	2	10.5	4	18.2
26 and older	1	5.3	0	0.0
Total	19	100.0	22	100.0

[a]This category includes Asian/Pacific Islander, American Indian, and mixed races.
[b]Percents do not add exactly to 100.0 due to rounding.

Formal content analysis of interview data was not performed in this study. However, significant themes emerged from the interviews. Interview tapes were reviewed for material supporting and rejecting the study's main hypothesis that Navy recruit training is a gendering process. No themes emerged that rejected the hypothesis. The review yielded three prominent themes supporting the hypothesis. In the first theme, RDCs strive to instill traditional masculine qualities in recruits, and this gendering occurs in different ways for female and male recruits. In the second theme, gender is a salient aspect in female recruits' experiences of losing their identities in recruit training. The third theme has a subtle connection to this study, revealing the presence of a gendered sexual script in boot camp.

1. RDCs purposefully masculinize recruits for future success in the Navy

Adjectives such as confident, disciplined, tough, aggressive, unemotional, and persevering have traditionally been reserved for men in American society, and they combine to form an image of hegemonic masculinity in the Navy. The process of recruit training may be viewed as RDCs

purposefully masculinizing recruits because RDCs strive to instill these traditional masculine qualities.

During the interviews, RDCs related an ability to "look into recruits' eyes" when they arrived and to know who would make it and who would not last. They considered stereotypical feminine attributes as detrimental to success in boot camp and the Navy, and they took steps to change recruits with those characteristics. In particular, RDCs worked to counter gendered messages that female recruits had received about their capabilities. A Lieutenant Commander on the RTC staff described these messages as "an old script" in which female recruits had learned that leadership is a masculine domain. She explained that it's the RDC's job to use the old script as "a tool rather than a liability" to challenge female recruits to overcome their fear and discomfort with leadership responsibilities. Female RDCs believed they had a special responsibility for their female recruits:

> I also harp on my females to get it through them that they want to do their job in a professional manner. Give 100 percent and not use the fact [or] excuse that they're female and they can't do this...From day one, I let them know that when they arrived here they did not come wearing a sign saying, "Female, Fragile, Handle with Care," nor did any of them arrive here wearing a tiara on top of their head.

> You have to teach them also how to get past that [the female stereotype] and not to be that "foo-foo head" because you know they like to revert. You like to revert back to that.

The female RDC who made the last statement defined "foo-foo head" as:

> Somebody who don't know their job. They fling their hair, smile and giggle, wear the perfume and make up, [and] bat their eyes.

Based on her personal experiences as a sailor in the Navy, she explained that male sailors constantly scrutinize female sailors' capabilities. She noted that male sailors wonder "if you are a team member or a shipmate, or if you are just a 'foo-foo head.'" She described her training strategy with female recruits in the following manner:

> From day one when I pick up females, I teach them that they are a sailor first [and a] woman second. It can be a beautiful blend...A lot of them don't even know what a woman is or a sailor so you have to teach both.

One of the male RDCs in the group did not believe that the training requirements for male recruits were any different:

> I don't think it's that much different for the boys either because we got to a lot of times teach them to be a man.

However, the female RDC explained to him that women have "the female stereotype" to overcome:

> We have the female stereotype to deal with and you don't have that.

Their conversation suggested that gendering in boot camp occurs in different ways for male and female recruits. Depending on the maturity of their recruits, RDCs may perceive the need to teach them how to be men or women in addition to their responsibilities to transform them into sailors. For a male recruit, socialization into the male role is consistent with the military socialization to become a sailor. For a female recruit, socialization into the female role is inconsistent with the military socialization to become a sailor until, as the female RDC noted, "the female stereotype," or the old script can be overcome.

2. Recruits experience a loss of identity in recruit training

Navy recruit training is a transformative process in which civilian volunteers become sailors. Recruit interviews indicated that it was a depersonalizing experience consistent with Zurcher's (1967) findings over 30 years ago. In particular, male and female recruits related stories about losing their identities in boot camp. As a male recruit noted:

> They [recruit training staff] don't see faces. They just see bodies.

Male recruits also discussed how recruit training "broke them down, and brought them to their lowest point." One male recruit commented that:

> They've [recruit training staff] broken me down and they've built me how they want me.

Although he and other male recruits did not address specifically the impact of recruit training on their gender, their comments suggested that the process of "building recruits" translates to a process of molding recruits to fit the image of hegemonic masculinity in the Navy.

The physical experience of recruit training as it related to loss of identity was also a topic of discussion among several groups of female recruits. Their comments were different from those of their male peers because female recruits described their experiences in gendered ways:

> I thought there's absolutely no equilibrium between being a woman and being a recruit here because there are mornings I wake up, and it's like, oh my god, I'm a female. Except for the bra, that's about all there is to remind you because I look exactly like, you know, any other male in an integrated division.
>
> Here we're just one sex. We're one gender. We're one race. We're one everything. We're not male

> [or] female. We're not Black, White, [or] Hispanic. We're all the same.
>
> I don't feel like a female anymore. I sit in a classroom with males and females. I look around. I see the same thing. Everybody looks the same. In other words, you don't only lose your femininity, but also your individuality.

Although recruit training is a masculine gendering process for both female and male recruits, these comments suggest that some female recruits experienced recruit training as a degendering process. They frequently discussed the loss of cosmetics and other forms of gender display. However, they also related personal stories of confidence, discipline, toughness, and perseverance. For female recruits, recruit training is both a gendering and a degendering experience. As one female recruit noted:

> To a certain extent, I felt I've lost my outer femininity, what you see, but the inside part has gotten stronger in that I feel stronger as a woman. I feel stronger about what I'm doing. We're feminine in more subtle ways now. It's not overt. We're losing [comments from others like], "Look at those women," and we're gaining, "She's really smart" or "Look at how many push-ups she did." We're getting it [femininity] back in better ways.

3. Confusion and fear about female and male recruit interaction exists

Although RDCs and recruits were not asked specifically to address gender-integrated recruit training, it was

frequently a topic of discussion. Interview data revealed that confusion and fear existed among some RDCs and recruits concerning female and male recruit interaction. Interviews with both RDCs and recruits suggested that the source of confusion was the inconsistent application of policy concerning "recruit to recruit contact." RDCs and recruits talked about some RDCs who allowed female and male recruit interaction, and other RDCs who enforced "no talking or looking" policies. That is, some female and male recruits were supposedly receiving directions to refrain from talking or looking at recruits of the other sex. Frustration was evident for both RDCs and recruits. Recruits had this to say about gender-integrated recruit training:

> I think that the integration is a joke...I think it's just for looks because you don't even get to talk to females even if you're saying anything you'd say to anyone else. (Male recruit)

> We're supposed to be learning to work together, and they're [RDCs] trying to turn us against each other. So how are we supposed to learn to work together if all we're doing is fighting with each other [and] not talking to each other. (Female recruit)

Interview data suggested that the sources of fear about female and male recruit interaction were different for recruits and RDCs. Both female and male recruits were afraid to interact with each other because they wanted to

avoid punishments such as being set back in the recruit training process.

In contrast, RDCs' fear about female and male recruit interaction can be traced to gendered sexual scripts. These scripts are "normative patterns of sexual desire and sexual behavior" (Lorber, 1994, p. 30) prescribed for different genders. In American society, women are typically socialized to regard their participation in sexual activity as a duty that they owe to men. Men are typically socialized to act compulsively on their sexual feelings in order to "prove their manhood." These prescriptions for sexual desires and behaviors imply that whenever women and men are interacting, their human intercourse is often labeled as sexual intercourse. Based on the interview data, the gendered sexual script causing fear for some RDCs may be described as the following: When female and male recruits interact with each other, sexual activity is bound to occur. Although RDCs did not communicate this gendered sexual script directly, they expressed concern over recruits' hormones and the challenges associated with monitoring "recruit to recruit contact."

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. CONCLUSIONS

Gender is a prominent social construct for individuals and organizations. As a process, structure, and part of a stratification system, gender organizes everyday life for children, adults, and organizations in American society. American conceptions of femininity and masculinity are evolving configurations of gender practice occurring at individual or organizational sites. Like individuals, organizations are gendered and create gender.

The U.S. Navy is a masculinist organization constructing its own unique ideal of hegemonic masculinity. The Navy definition of masculinity achieves meaning within its pattern of gender relations where anything associated with femininity is considered weak and women are considered "the Others." The Navy glorifies traditional masculine attributes and behaviors such as dominance and toughness, and devalues traditional feminine attributes and behaviors such as compassion and sensitivity.

This study shows that the military socialization experience of Navy recruit training can be understood as a gendering process, specifically as a process for producing masculinities. Navy recruit training is a critical function

in the organization. Consequently, significant implications for the Navy and its members stem from this study's findings.

As a result of this research, the Navy has a useful framework for understanding the adjustment processes of women and men to Navy socialization. Navy recruits come from all walks of life. They differ in race, ethnicity, religion, and gender. In particular, Navy recruits differ with respect to the nature of gender socialization they have experienced in their lives. The mission of Navy recruit training is to transform civilian volunteers into sailors. This process is made easier or harder for recruits depending on the extent that their gender socialization as civilians matches the gender expectations that the Navy has of sailors. The job of sailor is a traditional male role; it is a masculinist occupation. As RDCs purposefully masculinize recruits for future success in the Navy, they are engaged in a gendering process that may complement or conflict with civilian gender socialization.

Implications for Navy personnel as a result of this research focus on the degree of fit between civilian and military socialization experiences. That is, some recruits will have an easier time than others incorporating traditional masculine attributes and behaviors. After

recruits graduate and enter the fleet, the challenges associated with the incorporation of masculinity will continue. Depending on the specific form of masculinity associated with their Navy occupations, sailors who struggle with taking on traditional masculine traits and behaviors will not fit into the Navy, and they are likely to leave the organization. The qualitative findings in this study suggest further explanations of the attrition and retention behavior of Navy personnel that quantitative measures are unable to capture.

Finally, this research offers a powerful, analytical lens for viewing and assessing the status of women and men in the organization. Navy recruit training is one of many gendering processes in the Navy. The organization's production of gender, specifically the production of masculinities, is part of the sexism in the Navy. Gendering contributes to ideas or beliefs that one category, female, is inferior to the other, male. Recruits and other Navy personnel are socialized to discard traditional feminine qualities and behaviors and to take on traditional masculine qualities and behaviors. Since gender is so closely associated and often confused with sex, masculinities are inextricably linked with males, not females. Even when Navy

women adopt a masculinizing gender strategy, they are often discounted in the Navy because they will never be male.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

Two recommendations for RTC Great Lakes follow from this study's findings. They focus on encouraging open, frank discussions about gender and its construction within the command. Both recommendations also highlight the positive impact that discussions about gender will have on the command's accomplishment of its mission.

1. Educate RDCs about the masculine gendering aspects of recruit training

RDCs currently receive some gender-specific training using a RTC Great Lakes lesson plan entitled "Leadership and the Opposite Sex." RTC Great Lakes should change the title of this lesson plan and expand its content to include subject matter relating to the masculine gendering aspects of recruit training. RDCs need this framework for understanding the adjustment processes of women and men to Navy socialization. Knowledge of gender and gendering organizations is beneficial to RDCs for three reasons. First, it will enable RDCs to gain a greater comprehension of recruits' challenges in the training process. Second, RDCs will be able to tailor accordingly their training and motivation strategies with this information. Finally, open

discussions about gender will allow RDCs to share useful training strategies and to address the discomfort or fear they may have about training women and men.

2. Clarify policy on female and male recruit interaction

RTC Great Lakes must clarify policy regarding female and male recruit interaction during the recruit training process to eliminate the confusion and fear that exists for RDCs and recruits. The command must transmit a clear message to all RDCs and recruits that female and male recruits are encouraged to interact professionally and to build teamwork. This message has been received by some RDCs and recruits, but others are confused and scared. RTC Great Lakes should uncover the gendered sexual script that exists in boot camp and show that it is detrimental to the command's accomplishment of its mission. Training sessions with RDCs that are devoted to discussions about gender are excellent forums to expose recruit training's gendered sexual script and the fear that it fosters.

C. POTENTIAL AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study points to the following areas for further research:

- *Conduct a true cohort analysis of Navy recruits using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI).* In addition to testing for an increase in recruits'

masculinities over time, a decrease in recruits' femininities should be tested.

- *Conduct formal content analysis of the structured interviews in this study.*

- *Derive a new psychometric instrument such as the BSRI for 17 to 21 year old high school graduates who do not attend college.* This new instrument would provide an improved basis for assessing the gender of recruits. It would also provide more appropriate baseline data against which Navy recruits could be compared.

- *Study the relationship of gender, race, and class and their impact on the adjustment processes of women and men to Navy socialization.* Gender alone does not account for the diversity of women's and men's realities in the Navy. Femininities and masculinities are highly related to race and class.

- *Examine other gendering processes in the Navy.* All recruiting, training, promotion, and retention activities in the Navy are gendering processes. In the area of Navy training, research could focus on general or specific training. Officer training or Navy "A" schools could be studied from a gendered perspective.

APPENDIX A RECRUIT TRAINING LESSON TOPICS

Unit 1: Inprocessing

- Montgomery GI Bill
- Male/Female Wellness
- Initial Swim Qualification
- Rape Awareness
- Grievance Procedures
- Uniform Code of Military Justice

Unit 2: Military Orientation

- U.S. Naval History
- Chain of Command
- Professionalism I
- Watchstanding
- Navy Core Values
- U.S. Navy Ships and their Missions
- Military Customs and Courtesies
- Enlisted Rate and Officer Rank Recognition (Navy)
- Enlisted and Officer Paygrade Insignia Recognition (Other Armed Services)

Unit 3: Seamanship

- Shipboard Communications
- Basic Seamanship Part 1 - Nomenclature
- Basic Seamanship Part 2 - Lines, Wire Ropes, and Small Boats
- Line Handling Laboratory
- Knot Tying Laboratory
- First Aid Training
- Seamanship Olympics

Unit 4: Weapons

- U.S. Navy Aircraft and their Missions
- Weapons Handling (M16A1 Rifle Simulator)
- Conduct During Armed Conflict
- Weapons Handling (M16A1 Rifle Live Fire)

Unit 5: Military Shipboard

- Professionalism II
- Basic Damage Control
- Damage Control Dewatering Equipment
- Emergency Escape Breathing Device and Supplementary Emergency Egress Device
- Oxygen Breathing Apparatus
- Chemistry and Classes of Fire
- Portable and Fixed Fire Extinguishing Systems
- General Fire Fighting Procedures and Fire Party Organization
- 19F5 Fire Fighting Trainer Laboratory
- Damage Control Olympics
- Chemical, Biological, and Radiological Defense Laboratory
- Survival at Sea
- Uniform History

Unit 6: Rights and Responsibilities

- Enlisted Service Record
- Career Path and Advancement
- Navy Drug and Alcohol Program
- Personal Finance and Financial Planning
- Sexual Harassment and Fraternization
- Pregnancy and Dependent Care
- Conduct and Precautions Ashore
- Military Order, Discipline, and Laws
- Uniforms and Grooming
- Check Writing
- Equal Opportunity Program
- Cultural Discrimination
- Basic Military Training Continuum
- Study Skills

APPENDIX B INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR OFFICERS AND RDCs

Officers from RTC Great Lakes were asked the following questions:

- What are the goals of recruit training?
- What are the characteristics or traits of a "good" sailor?
- How might adjustment to recruit training differ for female and male recruits?
- What are the hurdles to success in recruit training, if any, for female and male recruits?
- What are your suggestions for improving women's and men's chances of success in recruit training?

RDCs were asked the following questions:

- What are the goals of recruit training?
- What are the characteristics or traits of a "good" sailor?
- How might adjustment to recruit training differ for female and male recruits?
- What strategies do you use to motivate and train recruits?
- What are the hurdles to success in recruit training, if any, for female and male recruits?
- What are your suggestions for improving women's and men's chances of success in recruit training?

APPENDIX C INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR RECRUITS

- Why did you enlist in the Navy?
- Do you have family members with military experience?
- What were your family's reactions when you decided to enlist in the Navy?
- Both female and male recruits were provided a description of a specific scene in the recruit indoctrination film, *The Days Will Drag, but the Weeks Will Fly*, in which a female recruit explained how she "lost her femininity" during training, but was able to "package it back up" and call herself a sailor.
    - Female recruits were asked the following: What do you think about her comments?
    - Male recruits were asked the following: What are significant changes occurring for you in recruit training?
- What, if anything, have you given up to become a sailor?
- What has been tough for you in recruit training?
- What are the characteristics or traits of a "good" sailor?

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